

THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN

THE BRITISH ROAD TO SOCIALISM

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(as amended following the
30th National Congress of the
Communist Party)

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The ideas of socialism and communism have deep roots among the British people. What is necessary for these changes to be made can be best expressed in the words of William Morris:

“Intelligence to conceive, courage to will, power enough to compel. If our ideas of a new society are anything more than a dream, these three qualities must animate the due effective majority of the working people; and then, I say, the thing will be done”.

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The British Road to Socialism

(as amended, following the 30th National Congress of the Communist Party)

Introduction

THE Communist Party's aim is socialism, for only socialism can solve the problems of the British people.

There is no need to argue that there are problems and that they are deeply rooted. This is admitted by politicians of every party.

At elections each major party promises that its programme will be a major step towards rehabilitating Britain and will be speedily carried out. But it is the mistaken policies of the past, rather than new policies, that in fact are implemented.

Yet this can and should be an age of achievement. Never before in history has there been such rapid scientific and technological advance, never before such opportunities to wipe away disease and poverty, squalor and ignorance. Never before has there been such a possibility to lighten work and enrich life.

This possibility could become a reality. There is no need for repeated crises which negate programmes for reform and development. There is no need for the effort and wealth and ingenuity, which should be used to improve the lives of the people everywhere, to be spent on preparations for war.

Britain could take a new, a different road.

Why are there always recurring problems and threats at home and abroad, so that plans remain unfulfilled, hopes unrealised? What new steps can be taken to emerge from the vicious circle?

When a society fails to function effectively the roots of the failure must be tackled. To patch up and no more is only to invite new breakdowns. But this is what has been done again and again.

The Labour Party has been returned to govern since the war in the belief that it had plans to change society. In fact it tried to maintain capitalism at the expense of the working people. That is why the same breakdowns occur under Labour or Tory rule.

The policies designed to control wages and salaries have not touched the incomes of the rich who still buy £20,000 houses, pay as much to keep one child at "public" school as some families have to support them, purchase priority for medical attention—indeed anything they want. Still two-fifths of all private property is owned by only 1 per cent of the adult population; four-fifths by only 10 per cent.

The standard of living of the majority is kept down and poverty increases. Plans for industrial development, for increased productivity, do not work, or fail to bring benefit to the working people and the country as a whole. Instead they increase the profits and the power of those who own and control industry, in particular they strengthen the great monopolies at the expense of the smaller capitalist firms.

Foreign policies are also framed in the interests of the great monopolies and the city financiers.

Despite all claims that imperialism is ended, these policies maintain and increase the monopoly profits from the exploitation of peoples of the newly independent states and other countries. They involve costly military bases, adventures overseas, huge armament programmes which would pay for many vital reforms at home.

As Britain lacks the resources to carry through such policies, her efforts to maintain them bring her into increasing dependence on the most powerful capitalist country, the United States.

The efforts to maintain an old and outdated system are bound to fail. Communists believe that only a new social system can give Britain a progressive role and a prosperous place in the world today. That system is socialism and to achieve it a revolutionary change is necessary.

Never has it been so clear that capitalism cannot make use of the vast scientific advances of our modern times in the interests of man. Only in a socialist society will men and women be able fully to welcome every technical advance.

Automation, cybernation, the new great and potential sources of energy, can be in capitalist society a mixed blessing; they are used for profit, can lead to unemployment, can widen the gap between the rich and poor of the world. The same scientific and technological discoveries that could, in the right hands, end quickly and for all time sordid poverty and insecurity, can also in the wrong hands blow the world to bits.

Only in a socialist Britain, where the people own the means of production and decide their own destiny, will the miracles of modern science perform miracles for the welfare of the people as a whole.

The industries which provide the wealth of the country, which are worked by the people of the country, must belong to the community. Only then can there be planned industrial development, a constantly rising standard of living and a continuous expansion of the social services for the benefit of the community as a whole. Only then can there be policies at home and abroad framed solely in the interests of the people and their future.

This means a radical change in industrial, social and political life. But it is a change which can lay the basis for sustained advance at home and for independent action in the world. This is the kind of change that can release new energies and enthusiasm, that can bring quite new achievements and prospects.

It is with the conviction that Britain must take a new road that we advance our programme *The British Road to Socialism*.

In this we make clear our view:

Firstly, that socialism can only be won by the combined action of the working people led by their socialist and democratic organisations. The Communist Party has a vital part to play but it does not seek an exclusive position of leadership.

Secondly, decisive advances towards socialism will be achieved to the extent that the mass of the people carry through large-scale struggles to secure improvements in their living standards, for full

employment, a wide expansion of democracy, and a genuine policy of peace.

Thirdly, that in the course of this many-sided struggle, the labour movement will find the way to throw off its right-wing leadership, that new political alignments will come about, and create the conditions for the election of a Parliamentary majority and government pledged to a socialist programme.

Fourthly, that a democratic advance to socialism, as outlined in our programme, entails a multi-party system in which parties contend for the people's support. We believe socialism can be achieved in Britain, not without prolonged and serious effort, but by peaceful means and without armed struggle, and this is our aim. The working people and their representatives in Parliament will have the strength and the means to deal with the resistance of reaction whatever form it may take.

Fifthly, we firmly believe that the people of Britain and the world can prevent a third world war. War is in no sense a condition for the advance to socialism.

It will not be easy to make the advance to socialism. But we believe that it can be done, with the backing of the vast majority of the population, if the issues are fully understood.

Our programme sets out our views on why Britain needs socialism, our proposals for making this radical change in our social order and our ideas of the tasks that would face a British Government and people dedicated to the building of socialism.

1. Britain Needs Socialism

THE essential problems facing the British people stem from the nature of modern capitalist society. And only when the capitalist system of society is replaced by socialism, by the social ownership and democratic control of the means of production, distribution and exchange, together with socialist planning, can these problems really be solved.

Economic power

In capitalist society wealth means economic power.

The vast majority of British people, 90 out of every 100, own, outside small personal savings and perhaps a house, nothing but their labour power, their ability to work.

But almost half Britain's wealth is held by one in a hundred, 1 per cent of the population.

The wealth is produced by those who work by hand and brain—far in excess of the wages they are paid. The surplus goes to the capitalist owners or shareholders as profit. This is capitalist exploitation, the basis of all forms of rent and interest.

A capitalist system is inevitably marked by sharp social contrasts, gross inequalities of opportunity.

Modern capitalism makes mockery of the old argument that rent,

interest and profit were deservedly earned by the enterprise and the risks taken by capitalists freely competing with one another.

With ever new mergers and takeovers, British wealth and resources pass more and more into the control of fewer but ever more powerful combines or monopolies. With Labour or Tories in office the process continues.

Oil, metals, chemicals, electrical engineering, motor vehicles and aircraft—all are now dominated by a handful of privately-owned concerns.

While small British firms are swallowed up by larger ones, they in their turn are swallowed by American combines with complex international ties. Fewer and fewer major industries remain solely in British hands.

As in productive industry so in the retail trade. Small shops are swallowed by chain stores and supermarkets. The working people pay more and more towards the high profits of the finance companies operating hire purchase, insurance and mortgages.

Political power

It is not only economic power that is in the hands of the capitalist class. Political power, state power, is in the hands of the same class.

The key state organs which exercise authority in Britain are under the control of the same great monopoly groups who control the wealth of the country, and serve their interests.

Governments—Labour and Tory—come and go, but the key officials of state go on. Persisting through every change of government are the heads of the armed forces, the police, the security network, the top civil servants in the main ministries, the judges, the controllers of the nationalised industries.

Overwhelmingly selected for these posts are those who by birth and education, training or career prospects, have deep loyalties to capitalism, who are conditioned to see their task as making capitalism work, who regard socialism as subversive.

Ideological power

It is not only economic and political power that are in the hands of the capitalist class.

The same small groups increasingly control the instruments of education, the arts, of ideas. There is a growing monopoly of the mass media, the means of communication, the fields of artistic expression, of everything that influences the minds and attitudes of the people.

A handful of great magnates control the press. Magazines and journals have come into the same hands. So have extensive holdings in television. Publishing firms are progressively amalgamated. And in every sphere artists depend for their livelihood on smaller and smaller numbers of commercial concerns.

Power—economic, political, ideological—is in the hands of monopoly capital.

State monopoly capitalism

Stage by stage British capitalism has developed to monopoly capitalism and now to state monopoly capitalism, where the capitalist state is intertwined with the great banks and monopolies.

In the first world war state intervention in the economy markedly increased. The process was carried further in the great economic crisis of 1929-31, and still further in the second world war.

The reasons have been manifold. One has been the political advance and economic growth of the socialist world which has constituted a direct challenge to capitalism. Another has been the determination of the working class at home to retain a high level of employment and a steady advance in living standards.

With British economy developing more slowly than that of other capitalist states, competition with industries abroad has become sharper.

But the great monopolies in industries with a heavy capital outlay are forced to maintain a high level of output and profits.

And this could only be done with state aid to rationalise processes on new lines, and, in particular, to introduce automation. Moreover new branches of industry like the production of computers, essential to the development of the economy were financed in the same way. Time and again private industries have been generously subsidised by the state.

It was within the framework of state monopoly capitalism that nationalisation of a limited number of industries—electricity, gas, railways, coalmining, steel was developed in Britain. Reorganised at public expense their policies were subordinated to the interests of the private sector of the economy. They provided higher compensation to former owners, heavy interest payments for new capital, cheap services for privately-owned industry.

Limitations and contradictions

Yet with all this pouring out of public funds there has been no far-reaching reconstruction of industry or the economy, and crises still recur—yet British productive power is greater now than at any time in our history. It could be multiplied many times by the planned application of automation, by increasing use of computers, nuclear power, man-made materials. But not without deep social changes.

Within Britain's social services the same contradictions are found. Whilst a health service has been introduced, largely financed from contributions and taxes, private firms make enormous profits from selling drugs, goods and services. Local Councils are empowered to build houses and schools, but the method of providing finance compels them to pay hundreds of millions a year in interest charges to the banks. Funds to pay such interest must be found from local sources, including the rates. Meanwhile private building firms make big profits on extensive contracts. Property owners can become millionaires overnight from speculative investment in land and houses.

The funds available for social services have been grossly inadequate—lower, as a proportion of the Gross National Product than most countries of Western Europe. Private enterprise has been able, as a result, to extend its activities in social insurance with a rapid growth of private pension funds, and in housing.

Public housing provision and planning have been subordinated to profitable commercial development schemes and private enterprise estates. This has been accompanied by a growth in the number of homeless families, a deterioration of slums long overdue for clearance, increasing chaos in towns and cities. There is no more vivid example of private affluence leading to public squalor.

That a small minority can pay out of private income for spacious housing, lavish educational facilities, privileged medical attention, is not just in striking contrast to the disabilities of the poor, but a built-in class barrier, a denial of democracy.

State monopoly capitalism against democracy

Modern monopoly capitalism attacks all the essential rights and liberties that have been won over many years of struggle by the working people.

The executive grows in power. Parliament is by-passed more and more. There are increasing encroachments on the powers of the local authorities.

The monopolists seek to replace collective bargaining by state control of incomes and salaries, to incorporate trade unions into the machinery of state, to overturn trade union rights won over decades of struggle.

By direct takeover, the stranglehold of advertisement revenue, or carefully selected appointment, every means of communication is subjected or threatened with subjection to monopoly.

With state monopoly capitalism, economic, political and ideological power is concentrated in the hands of a small minority who use it to serve their own interests at the expense of the vast majority.

Labour Governments and capitalist power

Why have successive Labour Governments always failed, always ended in fiasco?

Labour Governments, like Tory Governments, have, in fact, subordinated all their essential policies to the needs of the great monopolies. They have left the overwhelming bulk of the basic means of production, distribution and exchange in private hands. They have facilitated the growth of monopoly.

Their priority has been the interests of the rich—luxury goods, office buildings not homes or hospitals or schools, all for profit and little against poverty.

They have accepted lock, stock and barrel the existing state machine. They have worked within it, become its prisoner.

Tory and Labour Governments alike have strengthened the capitalist state, created new government departments, adapted old

ones, formed new "public bodies". What are the Department of Economic Affairs, the Ministry of Technology, the Prices and Incomes Board, the Industrial Reorganisation Corporation, the NEDC, the Land Commission, the Boards that supervise the ship-building and aircraft industries?

On all of them the representatives of the great firms play the decisive role. On all the monopolies are directly represented, advise the government on policies and practice, and predominate.

Labour Governments have developed nationalisation in such a way that it strengthens capitalism, that it helps capitalism to work.

Like Tory Governments, Labour Governments have "managed" capitalism. They have introduced reforms, often material and important, but never taken decisive steps to end the power of the monopolies, the private exploitation of Britain's resources, to transform the state.

Attempting to work within the framework of capitalist power, to make capitalism work, to manage capitalism, they have ended by leading the attacks on the working class. All those who really attempt to fight against capitalism are seen as enemies, come under attack, and the capitalist state is used against the working class.

Powerful sections of the working class, the trade unions and co-operatives have strongly resisted so-called prices and incomes policy which aims to freeze or restrict wages while prices and capitalist income rise; which operates to limit or abolish collective bargaining, weaken organisation in the workshops, undermine the right to strike.

Such resistance is represented as a disservice to the country by Tories, industrialists and right-wing Labour leaders endeavouring to maintain the capitalist system as it is.

If Labour Governments and Labour leaders accept the role of managers of capitalism, if they set out to work within the framework of the capitalist state, if they content themselves with restricted nationalisation controlled by a state loyal to capitalism, then inevitably monopoly is strengthened, and Labour Governments end in fiasco.

Only two courses are open. Either the present accelerating trend towards monopoly will continue, with increasing control over all aspects of our lives by a decreasing number of magnates and monopolists, threatening democracy and preventing vital reforms. Or steps must be taken to take full command of the nation's resources, wrest power from the few, ending the exploitation of the developing countries, and using the wealth produced by the people for the welfare of the people. There is no middle way. The only way of advance is in the direction of socialism.

Socialism the solution

Socialism is the logical response to the present need for public financing and planning, for larger industrial units, for growing social services. Socialism means public control of economic resources and matches public expenditure with public need.

The economic basis of socialism is public ownership of all important means of production, distribution and exchange. Politically it is power in the hands of the working people. And this above all is what Britain needs.

It will enable the community as a whole to profit from all increases in productivity, all advances in science and applications of technological discoveries, and this without the present fears of redundancy, unemployment, rising prices and cuts in wages.

It will draw into the organs of government, the planning boards, the administration of the social services, the judiciary, men and women who understand the problems of the industries and services concerned, and the problems of people as well.

Socialism will bring a new quality of life, for individuals, for the nation as a whole. By ending exploitation it allows people to make their own future, and by freeing creative energies ensures that the future will bring economic, social and cultural advances.

That is why socialism has been the aim, the guiding light of the pioneers of the labour movement and of tens of thousands in succeeding years down to today. The aim of establishing the rule of the working people in place of rule by the owners of property, has lit up what has often been a path of bitter struggle for elementary rights.

We today, are the heirs of that struggle and the democratic rights gained in the course of it. It is for us to consolidate those gains, and make the step for which so many have striven and which is so essential for the welfare of Britain today.

2. Next Steps Ahead

The building of a movement for social and political change

The labour movement

ALL the basic rights and liberties on which this country prides itself have been won over the years by popular action, primarily by the solidarity and militancy of the working class. To these struggles we owe the right to vote and the right to organise, the consequent improvements in wages and reduction in working hours, better living standards, education, health and social security services.

To secure these rights by Acts of Parliament has not been enough. They have had to be fought for again and again, and still have to be fought for today.

In this process of struggle, over many decades, millions-strong trade unions and co-operatives have been built up. Political parties have been established to advance the interests of the working class—the Labour Party and the Communist Party.

These organisations together form the organised labour movement which is today a powerful force, capable of rallying the people against the monopoly capitalists, and of uniting them in the struggle for their immediate demands and for the advance to socialism.

But the potential strength of the movement is never exerted for these aims because in the Labour Party and mass organisations dominant positions are held by right-wing leaders, whose policy does not in any fundamental way differ from that of the Tories.

The right-wing Labour leaders reject the need for the working people to win political power to bring about a revolutionary transformation of society. They seek only to maintain the existing capitalist order and administer it more efficiently. The policies of the governments that they form are in no sense socialist.

From this right-wing within the labour movement come all the arguments designed to blind people to the realities of political power.

They argue that the state is neutral, above classes, that there is no need to transform it. They tell the workers that they should make capitalism work, that employers and workers should co-operate to this end, or that such "managed capitalism" is really a step towards socialism.

The struggle of the labour movement proceeds, therefore, not only against monopolists and Tories. The struggle for living standards, for democracy, for socialist policies, involves struggle against the right-wing within the labour movement. Both are part of the same fight.

It is essential that the labour movement should clearly understand the relation between its immediate struggles and the long-term aim of socialism. Without the struggles in the work place, without the struggles now on wages and hours and rents, and peace and liberty there will be no advance to socialism, and, conversely, without clear socialist aims, the immediate struggles will lose their strength and significance.

It is because Communists have consistently held to the aim of socialism that they are among the most consistent fighters for the interests of the working class. That is why they are so often elected to positions in trade unions.

To strengthen the immediate struggle, to clarify socialist aims working class unity is needed. In many fields today close co-operation between Communists and Socialists is growing. It is time now to strengthen these links, to overcome the disillusionment brought about by the right-wing leadership. It is time to develop working class unity in every way.

A broad popular alliance of struggle against the monopolies

How can the British labour movement and the British people begin to move in the direction of socialism? What is the next stage?

Labour unity is essential, but it is not only the working class that are under attack from state monopoly capitalism. It is necessary and

possible to build a broad popular alliance around and under the leadership of the working class, fighting every aspect of the policies of the monopolies, to develop a broad popular movement for peace, democracy, and improvement of living standards, a broad struggle around a democratic programme that leads in the direction of socialism.

There are many points on which all those who stand for socialism are agreed, but which can win a far broader support than that of committed socialists.

Trade unionists have strongly resisted state intervention in the interest of the monopolies at the expense of the workers who produce their wealth.

There has been growing opposition in the labour movement to the policies of state monopoly capitalism. All this resistance is in the interests of the whole working people. The different aspects and interconnections of monopolist policy need to be explained again and again.

Only thus can general support be won and the organisation of struggle greatly strengthened. Only thus will the need be seen for the clear linking of all the aspects of protest against the policies that aid the monopolies—housewives concerned about prices, tenants' associations, parents and teachers moving on educational issues, youth and student organisations, old age pensioners' associations, the peace movement, and all those active in the defence of democratic rights. All can be helped to see the interdependence of their problems, and to understand their fundamental cause.

When the leadership of the main organisations of the labour movement stands squarely and openly for the interests of the workers by hand and brain, and when it advances a clear democratic and socialist policy, it can rally the great majority of the people against the monopolists who now control their work and their leisure, their lives and their future.

By building up an understanding of the fundamental issues involved, by creating on this basis a new unity of purpose, sustained pressure can be brought to bear in favour of alternative democratic policies.

Nowhere has opposition to capitalist policies been more widely based or strongly felt than in the field of foreign policy. It has found expression in the demands for an end to unjust wars—to the war in Suez, when Britain was led by the Tories to play the role of aggressor, to the war in Vietnam, where there has been naked aggression by the United States with the support of British Governments, Tory and Labour. It has found expression in denunciations of *apartheid* and racialism, in mass demonstrations for nuclear disarmament and the ending of military blocs.

For such movements to be sustained, extended, strengthened, they need to understand that the policies against which they are campaigning are designed to protect the interests of British monopoly capitalism, and reflect in particular its imperialist aims.

Since the end of the second world war, Britain's involvement in the cold war against the socialist countries and in wars against national

liberation movements has been the direct result of continuing efforts to maintain its imperialist positions and exploitation. In fact these efforts have weakened Britain step by step and led to her increased dependence on the strongest and most aggressive imperialist state, the United States of America.

The British monopolists' demand that Britain should join the Common Market would undermine her independence still further.

While direct political control over former colonies has gone, there are still massive investments of capital in most of them, and in other areas where British monopolies have special interests, including the oil regions of the Middle East. Controlling these investments is the financial centre of British imperialism, the City, which continues to exercise its extensive powers.

It is to defend these interests that, though reduced, overseas bases are maintained and manned by armed forces. They are there to influence economic and political developments in countries where there is heavy investment; if necessary to intervene—by any means including military—in the internal affairs of the countries involved. The profits from these investments go into private hands; the cost in lives and money is borne by the people.

A similar policy is pursued, with far greater resources, by the United States in South East Asia, the Middle East, Africa, Latin America, Europe too, indeed on a global scale. Hence British foreign policy, framed in the interests of the City and the monopolies, becomes increasingly dependent on that of the United States.

These policies have deadly repercussions on the comparatively backward British economy.

Totally new policies are necessary to correct the lopsidedness of British financial structure, to make up the leeway of underinvestment and consequent obsolescence in industry at home, to reduce the vast burden of expenditure on armaments, to enter into new relations of peace and equality with other countries.

The continuation of overseas investment at a high rate with the heavy expenditure on overseas armies and bases are increasingly formidable obstacles to securing a favourable balance of payments and building up monetary reserves.

All this is why there are ever recurring crises of balance of payments aggravated by speculation on the part of home and foreign holders of sterling, why Britain is in chronic crises, why deflationary policies are declared necessary to safeguard the pound—credit squeeze, higher interest rates, the freezing of wages, unemployment, why devaluation is carried through, why the economy is continually thrown into recession, which in turn brings a fall in investment and impedes development on all sides.

Clearly it is the endeavour to preserve as much as possible of the imperial framework—political, military and financial—to uphold the interests of the monopolists and financiers, that causes these crises. The cost and burden of armaments distorts the economy, and holds up essential modernisation of industry as well as social development. Besides penalising the people it puts British industry into a strait-jacket, as compared with the industry of other states.

Policies which have these effects are carried through whatever government is in office, Labour or Tory. There is, in fact, a basic continuity of policy. This is because governments formed by both parties serve the interests of the monopolists, of monopoly power.

The only way out of this vicious circle is to break the influence of the monopolies in terms of a basic change of foreign policy, as well as of changes in policies at home. And this, too, is the only certain way of securing peace.

There must be tireless explanation of all these issues, how they tie up together, how they affect the lives of every one of us, how action can be taken to prevent any further moves along the old road. Only this will bring results.

In the past there has been action of various kinds, at various levels, but of an intermittent and disconnected kind. What is needed is use and development of all the traditional democratic means—in the light of an understanding that all aspects of the struggle hang together—whether strike or demonstration, Parliamentary or extra-Parliamentary pressure.

By these means unity and confidence can rapidly grow, political understanding deepen. A great popular movement for new policies and priorities can pave the way for the transition to socialism. The basis of the broad popular alliance which can be created will be the working class, the main class force in the struggle to change society.

The fields of struggle

What are the main areas of struggle, the new ends to which all efforts should be directed?

Living standards and economic affairs

Continuous struggle is needed to win and maintain full employment and the guaranteed right to work at a decent wage, social rights demanded by the labour movement.

The fight for full employment involves ending all policies leading to wage restraint whether or not embodied in legislation. The right of the trade unions to unfettered, collective bargaining must be maintained. In place of state regulation of wages what is needed is a continuing fight to increase wages, salaries and social security payments. The guarantee should be demanded that no one may be made redundant or sacked unless suitable alternative employment is provided.

If the working class is to challenge the power of the monopolists the autonomy of the trade union movement will have to be defended, and every move towards state regulation of the unions rejected. Collective bargaining, strike action, and picketing, rights won by bitter struggle, must be maintained by determined action of the whole movement.

More trade union action is needed not moves to suppress it. Sustained efforts by the trade unions and labour movement are

required to raise the level of the lower-paid workers and the winning of a statutory minimum wage. The fight must continue to secure equal pay for women for work of equal value, and to make this a legal obligation on employers. Negotiating rights over all working conditions must be won to ensure that all increases in productivity bring increases in wages and salaries, shorter working hours, longer holidays and improved fringe benefits. The employers' powers of arbitrary dismissal can be ended by establishing 100 per cent trade union organisation backed by strong shop stewards' and workshop organisation.

Blacklisting, victimisation, discrimination for reasons of trade union or political views or activities, or on grounds of colour, sex or religion, should be prohibited in all forms of employment.

Public ownership and democratic controls

A true democratic advance demands an effective challenge to the big monopolies and their present domination of the economy. This challenge can be met in various ways. The labour movement must use its strength to intervene much more decisively in industrial and economic affairs and to win much greater control over the key enterprises and resources of the country.

A determined struggle should be carried through to bring the monopoly concerns in the key sections of industry and finance into public ownership.

Planning and reorientation of the economy in the public interest require state ownership of the electronics and computer industry.

Oil and North Sea gas should be part of a nationally-owned fuel and power system. A publicly-owned, fully integrated transport system, including rail and road passenger and goods transport, airlines, docks, waterways, is essential to industrial efficiency and social wellbeing.

Chemicals, key sectors of engineering, shipbuilding, banking and insurance should be nationalised.

No foreign-owned or controlled monopoly should be permitted in Britain. Further inflow of American capital should be prevented.

A struggle is needed also to take all urban land (other than that belonging to owner occupiers) into public ownership. Without this, the proper planning of housing, as of industry and transport in urban areas, cannot be undertaken.

What is needed, then, is a radical expansion of the nationalised sector of the economy. The financial structure of the nationalised industries is increasingly called into question by the labour movement. The demand is made to free them from compensation payments, to reorganise them on democratic lines. These demands must be won.

Trade unions are pressing, in all industries, for the right to intervene at all levels of management, to be informed of management plans, to negotiate on matters arising and to receive all relevant information.

Elected representatives of the workers, at workshop and plant

level, want the power to negotiate on work loads, work standards and manning, rights of control on safety and welfare, and on all matters affecting employment.

This right of the workers to be involved in policy making and control in industry is an urgent requirement for economic advance, and to safeguard the interests of the working people.

In nationalised industries the trade unions should be directly represented on national boards and at all levels of management. At workshop and plant levels the workers should have rights of consultation and of participation in all management decisions.

The co-operative movement can greatly aid the anti-monopoly struggle. Every effort must be made to strengthen it and to widen its scope of action, and every pressure put on the government to end discrimination against it.

The Monopolies Commission should be brought under close Parliamentary control and composed of a majority of trade union and consumer representatives. Its proceedings should be widely publicised, its power should be extended, and directed towards ensuring that where large-scale productive or distributive concerns are operating as monopolies or are ripe for merging, this should be done under public ownership.

The powers of the Restrictive Practices Court which operate against price fixing must be strengthened so that it can deal more rapidly and effectively with cases brought before it. Trade unions, co-operatives, local authorities and other democratic bodies should be drawn into the struggle against restrictive trade practices.

New machinery is needed for rapidly collecting information about price increases and ensuring enforcement of price control.

To ensure both the modernisation of industry and the proper financing of the social services control of capital investment is essential. The needs of home investment must have priority, export of capital be strictly controlled and limited.

The balance of payments position can be improved by limiting inessential imports as well as increasing exports. Britain's role as a world banker and the role of sterling as a major reserve and trading currency, should be ended. International currency co-operation should be strengthened.

A successful struggle to curb the monopolies on these lines will make possible policies fostering economic growth without a threat to living and working conditions. The course must be set for expansion of a kind to meet the needs of the people and the nation.

This involves above all shedding the burden of overseas military expenditure, and the turning of resources to production for home consumption and export on the basis of careful planning.

The form of economic co-operation or trading pattern which can best meet Britain's needs is an all-European one coupled with a systematic expansion of world trade. There is no future in closed economic groupings ranged against each other. What is needed is an extension of trade including mutual long-term trade agreements with socialist and developing countries, as well as more trade with other states.

Peace and national independence

The vast destructive power of modern nuclear weapons makes the prevention of a third world war the most important issue facing humanity. Such a war could result in the annihilation of Britain and the devastation of great areas throughout the world.

Peaceful coexistence between states with different social systems and the ending of colonialism in all its forms should be the main objective.

The danger of war arises directly from monopoly capitalism. Imperialist expansion and aggression is its direct product. It is, then, a major task of the people in the capitalist countries to compel their governments to follow a policy of peaceful coexistence.

A third world war is not inevitable—but to preserve peace, imperialist aggression must be halted. The combined forces of the socialist countries the developing countries, and of the labour and peace movements in the capitalist countries are strong enough to achieve this, provided they act in a resolute way.

The main aggressive force today is American imperialism. Its military, naval and air forces are everywhere directed against democracy, national liberation and socialism. It wages war in South-East Asia and occupies South Korea and Formosa for its own imperialist purposes. It dominates NATO, an alliance directed against the socialist countries. Its policies could precipitate a third world war.

The ending of the British Government's support for American aggression in Vietnam is the first essential in the struggle for world peace.

But there are other dangers to world peace; from the West German demand for nuclear weapons and frontier revision; from the "East of Suez" policy of British imperialism; from imperialist plans in the Middle East which bring us into conflict with whole peoples struggling for national liberation.

This position of acute danger can and must be ended. A policy calling for continuous struggle on these issues can command the broadest popular support. The peoples as a whole want peace.

A peace policy must vary according to events; but it must include certain main demands.

The end of subordination to U.S. imperialism; the dissolution of NATO and other imperialist alliances, ending as a result the Warsaw Pact and replacing them both by an all-inclusive system of European security; curbing West German militarism and preventing its access to nuclear weapons; withdrawal of all British forces from other countries and all foreign forces from Britain; phased reduction of conventional arms; ending the manufacture and destroying all stocks of nuclear weapons.

It is equally necessary in the interests of the British people and of the international solidarity of the working people to end colonialism in all its forms, including the continued exploitation by the monopolies of the peoples who have achieved political independence. The right of all peoples still under British rule to self-determination

must be recognised, all British armed forces withdrawn from colonial territories and bases, the British military presence East of Suez ended.

The enforced partition of Ireland should be ended and British troops withdrawn from Northern Ireland, leaving the Irish people free to realise their united republic.

New economic policies are needed to replace those designed to close the ranks of capitalist Europe in opposition to socialism. Such is the European Common Market, a combination of the biggest trusts of capitalist Europe, a lure to British monopoly capitalists determined to increase profits and improve their position in the world.

The aim of this combination is economic and political domination of European resources and of developing countries still dependent on European states. This represents a threat to democracy not only in Western Europe, but a hardening and strengthening of forces bitterly opposed to the working class everywhere, to the USSR and other socialist countries and to the national liberation movements.

Yet these are the decisive forces in the world—the working class movements, the great popular movements for national liberation, for freedom and democracy, the forces backing the building of socialism. They look to the future, to realising potentialities, opening up opportunities for the many, creating a new way of life.

The fight for peaceful coexistence, international co-operation, disarmament, and the end of colonialism, is profoundly in the interests of the people of Britain, as of all peoples throughout the world. It forms part of the struggle against the most aggressive forces of imperialism both here and abroad. Success in this struggle will provide favourable conditions both for the development of the national liberation forces and for the advance to socialism. The fight for peace is, therefore, a form of struggle which can win overwhelming support and lead to the isolation of big business both politically and morally.

The defence and extension of democratic rights

It must be a main concern of the labour and popular movement to use and defend every democratic right won in the past, whilst working for a general extension of democratic liberties.

Freedom of speech, of meeting, the right to organise, demonstrate, lobby, picket, strike—all these are vital in securing any economic and political change. These rights must be defended and extended by active use and pressure.

Most urgent is popular control of the mass media, especially radio and television. The demand should be made for a national council, comprising representatives of all the main democratic organisations, to meet periodically, review programmes, advance proposals, influence policy.

The chief aim should be free discussion of controversial issues—political, industrial, ideological—by those genuinely representing

different points of view, untrammelled by biased interviewing or summing up by reactionary "experts". All democratically organised political parties must be accorded time to explain their policies, and trade unionists involved in industrial struggles be given time to state their case.

The chief aim should be free discussion of controversial issues.

Action is urgently needed to halt the growth of monopolist control over the press. Legislation must be fought for, prohibiting any further merger or concentration of ownership of newspapers and periodicals. No firm should be permitted to own more than one daily newspaper or one Sunday paper.

Practical steps can be taken to reduce dependence on advertising revenue, and government advertising should be fairly distributed. Freedom of access to printing presses can be extended by government intervention. Publicly owned plants should be set up to print newspapers for trade unions, co-operatives and other political or social groups. The chief firms producing newsprint, printing ink and equipment should be nationalised and price control ensured.

The age-old struggle for equal rights for all citizens irrespective of race, religion or sex must be energetically carried on, particularly in view of new threats.

Women are still victims of discrimination and prejudice in many fields—legal, political and economic. They still have an inferior position in education and employment. The liberties and potentialities of half the population are at issue here. Equal rights and opportunities are not only a matter of justice, but would bring great benefits in all spheres of work and activity.

The same applies to all citizens of this country. Racial discrimination is still being widely practised in Britain despite recent legislation, and this is a great danger to democracy. The Race Relations Act should be amended in order to outlaw discrimination in every field, including housing, employment and credit facilities, and to ensure that all incitement to race hatred is made illegal by appropriate penal clauses. The Commonwealth Immigration Act should be repealed since its purpose and actual functioning is discriminatory. The fight against racialism and race prejudice, and for full social, economic and political equality for coloured people is fundamental for democracy.

The real extension of democracy in Britain requires recognition of the national rights and need of the peoples of Scotland and Wales. It is urgent to meet their right to their own Parliaments. We see these as single-chamber elected assemblies elected directly by proportional representation with adequate powers and finances to deal with Scottish and Welsh affairs in the fields of trade, industry, agricultural planning and social security. To make these Parliaments a reality and to give them the capacity to change the position in Scotland and Wales demands a consistent fight against monopoly with the full backing of all the socialist and democratic forces of Britain.

Young people in Britain should be accorded the vote at 18.

Popular representation, the effectiveness of democracy would be

greatly increased by introducing the principle of proportional representation in elections, local and national. The £150 deposit required of all candidates in Parliamentary elections should be abolished. Candidates should be supported by a list of nominators.

The House of Lords, which embodies no democratic principle, should be abolished.

Popular control over the police should be extended, not diminished as it has been in the process of amalgamating local forces. Elected local authorities should everywhere exercise close control over the police through strong and democratically constituted committees which they have appointed.

The maintenance and extension of social rights

Some of the greatest movements in British history have developed to extend social security and to improve the conditions of life of ordinary people. There is a widespread struggle to extend popular education: to improve housing conditions, the hospitals and health facilities. Around such issues a broad alliance of people develops far wider than the labour movement.

The quality of life of the majority of the people is affected by the unplanned growth of gigantic urban areas and the associated problems of transport and housing.

Monopoly capitalist interests, standing in the way of any serious town planning, rebuild town centres solely with an eye to private profit, and with little regard for community needs. The result is urban congestion, a totally inadequate transport system, day-time only commercial town centres which are not community centres, the clogging of towns by the motor car, and vast neglected areas.

There is urgent need in all these fields for democratic planning and development.

It is essential to co-ordinate work undertaken by many different, democratic organisations, to agree on a basic minimum programme for which there can be maximum popular pressure.

Such a programme could cover:

Mass opposition to the proposals made by both Tories and right-wing Labour leaders for wider use of means tests in social security, council housing and other services.

Action to avert poverty and provide for those below the poverty line, together with the fight to improve wages and purchasing power. The greatest sufferers in need of the greatest help are children, the chronic sick and disabled old people.

The raising of all social pensions and benefits to a level sufficient for adequate and poverty-free maintenance, to be paid as a right without means test.

Local health centres in every district as the foundation of a more integrated health service, supplemented by adequate welfare facilities. A substantial hospital building programme and increased numbers of health workers.

Speedy completion of a genuinely comprehensive reorganisation

of the schools, on a national scale, to stimulate new educational developments as well as opening up opportunities. Abolition of "public" and other fee-paying schools, a main bulwark of class privilege. Sufficient day nurseries and nursery schools for all children. All primary schools to be brought up to standard. Adequate salary scales to ensure recruitment of educational staffs and end under-manning. Rapid expansion of all facilities for higher education and the needs of the students.

Recognition of adequate housing as a social right. Urgent measures to provide housing for all, including crash programmes for local councils to clear slums, end overcrowding and provide sufficient housing at moderate rents. Provision of government loans at low interest rates and publicly-owned industrialised building systems to enable this to be done. More powers for local councils to take over empty houses and finance conversion and improvements. Full security and controlled rents for all tenants. Mortgages at low controlled rates for those buying their own houses. Legislation to ban the sale of council houses.

Effective democratic planning of towns and regions. There should be public discussion and consultation about the planned development of each town. Such planning must preserve green belts and open spaces, ensure a modern and convenient system of public transport, and provide for the transformation of each city into a healthy, convenient and beautiful living centre for the people. Strong pressure for such developments would unite tenants, those needing houses, councillors, town planners, architects and traffic experts in a joint venture to create a new environment worthy of our time.

Democratically elected regional councils should be formed, with powers of regional planning. The people should be consulted, and expert assistance given in the development of the region as a whole. Such regional planning should aim to end chaotic urban growth and rural neglect, and should ensure a controlled balance of industry, agricultural, educational, cultural, transport, social service and recreational facilities for town and countryside. It should be designed principally to promote the economic, social and cultural welfare of the people of the region. Recreational facilities should include National Parks giving access to mountains, forests and foreshores.

The policies of monopoly capitalism put profits first and the people last. They create chaos where there should be planned development.

The programme which we put forward unites the interests of the working class with those of virtually all sections of the people outside big business. Such a policy if implemented, would improve the life and opportunities of the great majority of the people. But to win it requires continuous struggle and firm leadership on all the issues indicated—political, economic and social.

On such a programme the mass of people can move into action, a broad popular alliance can be formed.

Democratic advances in this direction, directed against the monopolies, can pave the way for the advance to socialism, represent a definite stage in social advance.

3. The Communist Party and the labour movement

PUTTING forward its programme for advance to socialism, the Communist Party continues the tradition of more than a century of British socialist struggle.

Founded in 1920, with its roots in Britain's oldest Marxist organisations, it has stood consistently for scientific socialism and formulated policies in this light. Always it has opposed reformism, right-wing ideas and influences in the labour movement, which weaken working class unity and sap effort to win popular support for socialism.

Communists accept the Marxist approach to history and society, the Marxist analysis of capitalism. As Marxists we understand that the interests of the capitalist class and the working class are opposed and cannot be reconciled, that the capitalist ownership of the means of production, distribution and exchange means the exploitation of the great majority by a small minority, that monopoly capitalism restricts progressive development on every side, brings recurring threat of war, and increasingly threatens democracy. As scientific socialists, Marxists understand that capitalism can and must be replaced, that the working people led by the working class must win state power, and build a socialist society.

Today socialism is a reality for all to see. Countries with a population of hundreds of millions are socialist states. Working class power has transformed backward Russia into the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics with a most advanced industry, science and technology. Other socialist states are developing fast. Hundreds of millions more have ended the political rule of imperialism and achieved national independence. The working class and progressive movements are growing stronger in the remaining capitalist countries.

This new relation of forces in the world opens up new possibilities for further advance to socialism. There are now, in some countries, possibilities of winning political power by peaceful means, that is without armed struggle, and such a peaceful, democratic advance to socialism can, in the Communist Party's view, be achieved in Britain.

Such an advance, however, does not lie open. It has to be opened up and kept open by the struggles of the working people. And in these struggles, the labour movement has to take the lead.

Communist Party and Labour Party

The Communist Party is an integral part of the labour movement. Since its foundation it has always been in the forefront of mass struggle, and consistently worked for the most widely based popular action, for working class unity. Disunity, official barriers between the Communist Party and other organisations of the labour move-

ment has been brought about by bans and proscriptions enforced by right-wing Labour Party and trade union leaders.

Any such division in the labour movement weakens the struggle against monopoly capitalism and for revolutionary social change. It is precisely because the right-wing Labour leaders do not want radical social change that they proscribe Communists, seek to isolate the Communist Party and divide the labour movement.

The joint struggle of all who stand for socialist policies can lead to the removal of all bans and barriers to unity of action, an essential first step on the road to socialism. A united labour movement, unfettered by bans and proscriptions, is essential to the growth of a broad democratic alliance strong enough to defeat monopoly capitalism. This is the aim of the Communists.

It is not the aim of the Communist Party to undermine, weaken or split the Labour Party. On the contrary we believe that the struggle of the socialist forces within the Labour Party, to make it a party of struggle and socialism, will grow.

Nothing has weakened or split the Labour Party more effectively than the attack mounted by the right-wing against militants, the constant moves to isolate and neutralise the left. Nothing could so much strengthen and inspire it as a decisive rejection of the idea that the task of the labour movement is confined to winning reforms within the confines of capitalism or helping capitalism to work better.

But to work for the unity of the labour movement and to combat the disintegration of the Labour Party, it is necessary to struggle against the reformist ideas spread by the right-wing leaders, which are still strong. Reformist ideas that reject the class structure of society and class struggle, or proclaim that class divisions are withering away, or argue that the state is neutral and above classes, that socialism can be built piecemeal within the framework of capitalism and the capitalist state, or that our aim should now be a mixed economy and nothing more, disarm and disorientate the working people.

Reformism, the acceptance of the framework of the capitalist economy and capitalist state, the continuing of capitalist foreign policy, renunciation of socialist aims, inevitably lead to fiasco and defeat.

Capitalism, now state monopoly capitalism, remains the enemy. When the Labour Party rejects reformism, moves into the attack on capitalism, ends the bans and proscriptions against the left, it will ensure itself a vital role in the building of socialism.

For united action

Resistance to the right-wing domination of the Labour Party, both on the political wing and in the trade unions, is growing. The protest of the Labour left deepens against policies which betray socialist principles. Former automatic votes from trade unions for right-wing policies are being broken down. The interest in Marxism is increasing.

This in turn reflects growing understanding in wider fields of the need to take a new road.

Here is the basis for a further step, a move beyond protests against right-wing policies and influence towards the formulation of a positive alternative policy and the waging of an effective political struggle in its support.

Only through action in sustained campaigns, can the balance of opinion in the workplaces and constituencies, in popular organisations, be swung to a socialist solution. The aim must be an end to right-wing domination, to open the way to effective united action by the working class.

United action in the trade unions and the factories, where working class strength is concentrated and organised and the tradition of struggle and solidarity is strongest, is essential for an effective popular movement. The task is to build this up, and to build around it in an organised way campaigns on wider issues conducted by broadly-based organisations.

Of growing importance are the white-collar workers—office workers, scientists, technologists, teachers and other professional workers whose interests are bound up with those of the working class and the labour movement as a whole. These have built up powerful organisations to protect and advance their interests.

The daily struggle conducted by trade unions for the defence of living standards and workers' rights is a decisive part of the opposition to capitalism. It needs to be seen as such and openly conducted as such.

The youth and students have been active in every form of radical protest against the Establishment. They have developed new and militant forms of struggle for peace, joined in every action against colonialism and racialism, for freedom and democracy. Their protests and demonstrations, their radical and socialist organisations are of special importance in the anti-monopoly front.

There are many different organisations battling for particular reforms which can be brought to realise the common factors in the situation; that particular ends can only be achieved in the framework of wider social and economic policies. By united action for a clear programme, gains are made, not only in practical terms, but in terms of understanding the nature of society and the need to step up the fight to extend democracy and win fresh advances.

In this way the widest possible popular alliance against monopoly capitalism can be built up embracing all working people. Thus workers in factories, offices, professions; producers and consumers; owner-occupiers and tenants; young people and pensioners—all those whose lives are immediately affected, at work or at home, by policies framed to perpetuate and uphold monopoly capitalism, can be united in struggle.

This would be to undermine the mass support of the Tory Party, the party of big business which nonetheless attracts votes from professional workers and a large section of the working class—aided by newspapers and other mass media in the hands of those hostile to working class aspirations and to socialism.

It stands to reason that when views hostile to socialism are daily spread, and the alternative is rarely put, when Labour leaders themselves appear on the television screen denouncing working class action for working class rights, this hinders growth in working class and popular understanding of the nature and direction of the struggle.

In the process of launching and sustaining a movement to bring the labour movement to the pursuit of socialist aims, isolating and defeating the right-wing, the left will clarify its own thinking as well as that of others. The experience of struggle will help towards clarity of ideas, just as clarity of perspective helps the immediate struggle. They are interdependent.

As the movement advances it will weaken the hold of monopoly capitalism—in the factories or on “public” boards, in the mass media and the arts, in every sphere of life—and awaken people to the need to secure growing support for a transformation of society on socialist lines.

Role of the Communist Party

This can be done if there is a clear strategy and disciplined action on organised lines.

Socialism has never been won in any country but under the disciplined, organised, leadership of parties with that clear aim and a clear understanding of the means to attain it.

The Communist Party is such a party, firmly based on a Marxist, socialist ideology and outlook. It is an organised force which has continuously challenged and combated right-wing ideas in the labour movement.

It has been in the forefront of the class struggle, and has a record of activity on every question of importance to the British people. As a party with national, district and local organisations, press and publications, it combines campaigning on immediate issues with the fight for political power and socialism. It is an indispensable part of the labour movement.

Its features are distinctive, not possessed by any other section of the labour movement. They enable the Communist Party to make an essential contribution to the growth of socialist understanding, to the ability of the left to win majority support, and to the realisation of electoral unity against the Tories.

Thus the outcome of the struggle between left and right in the labour movement is bound up with increasing the strength and influence of the Communist Party. So is the outcome of the struggle of the labour movement against monopoly capital. All who desire working class unity and advance to socialism will gain from the increased public activity of the Communist Party, from increases in its membership, branches, influence and improvements in its organisation, and increased votes for Communist candidates and the election of Communists to local councils and to Parliament.

In the same way the Young Communist League plays a special role in the general movement of British youth. It works consistently

to explain socialist ideas, to help the youth to move from radical rebellion against the capitalist Establishment to positive socialist ideals. It works for the unity of the progressive youth in action for peace, democracy, international solidarity, against colonialism, racialism and oppression. It works side by side with the Communist Party in the fight for socialism.

The Communist Party is dedicated to the defeat of the deeply entrenched monopoly forces, the winning of political power by the working people and, on this basis, the advance to socialism. This is the aim too of many socialists in the labour movement. Labour-Communist unity for this end is the key to advance on the road to socialism.

Overwhelmingly the daily press is in the hands of a small group of monopolists. Yet to win working class unity, build a broad popular alliance against the monopolies, the people must be informed from day to day of what is happening, won for the struggle, inspired. They must have their own forums of discussion and the freedom to express their views denied to them nearly completely by the daily press. An ever-widening campaign to support and co-ordinate their protests and advance their interests is needed. And in this the *Morning Star*, the only daily newspaper free of the press lords, plays a unique part, providing a daily news service, a platform for every section of the anti-monopoly struggle.

In this way a broad popular alliance, under socialist leadership, can develop for ending state monopoly capitalism and isolating the parties whose policies turn on supporting and perpetuating it, and also on supporting and perpetuating, in the name of the freedom of the individual, the whole political and social Establishment which dominates British life and aims to keep the working class in its place, at work for the benefit of the ruling class.

The core of this alliance will be the working class organisations—its most organised and powerful element. But it can draw on all those whose interests are threatened by state monopoly capitalism, the overwhelming majority of the people. And their interests are also the national interest.

4. The building of a socialist society

Towards political power

THE logical outcome of the fight to extend democracy, to weaken and undermine the power now held and exercised by monopoly capitalism, is the winning of political power by the working class and its allies.

Without such a revolutionary change in society socialism cannot be built. Without such a revolution every advance that has been

made in living standards and democracy will be threatened again and again.

The working people through the experience of the struggle carried out under socialist leadership, and helped by the constant exploration of socialist ideas, will have to understand the need to win political power.

The broad popular alliance that they have established in the course of united action for a common basic programme will give them the strength to apply the knowledge they have gained.

During this struggle important inroads will be made into the power of the monopolists—economic, political and social. The aim must be increasingly to isolate the monopolists and the Tories, to break the right-wing domination of the labour movement, and to win a left majority in the Labour Party.

Working class unity, vital for effective democratic struggle against monopoly capitalism is doubly necessary for winning political power and building socialism. It is the heart of the wider political alliance. Political co-operation between the left majority in the Labour Party when it is won and the Communist Party is indispensable for successful advance to socialism.

By peaceful means

It is in the best interests of the working people, of the vast majority of the nation, that this mass struggle for political power should be carried through by peaceful means, without civil war.

The struggle for political power will go through many phases and take many forms. In the Parliamentary field the aim must be to win a Parliamentary majority, pledged to decisive socialist change and actively backed by the working people.

This will not be simple. There will be advances and setbacks. It cannot be by-passed. Political power must be won, but in the struggle for power, the winning of a majority in Parliament, supreme organ of representative power, is one of the essential steps.

Of course when a socialist majority in Parliament is achieved it will need the support of the mass movement outside Parliament to uphold the decisions it has taken in Parliament and, conversely, the Parliamentary decisions will give legal endorsement to popular aims and popular struggles.

The strength of the mass movement will be felt in Parliament, and the strength of the socialist movement within Parliament will strengthen the movement outside. The one supports the other.

In this way, by political action, using our democratic rights to transform traditional institutions, Parliament can be transformed into the effective instrument of the people's will, able to carry through major legislation to challenge capitalist power, and replace capitalism by socialism.

These developments, this programme, will have to be fought for by the mass movement at every step with conscious understanding of the issues at stake. The ruling class will not easily surrender wealth and power. On the contrary it will strive by every means, direct and

indirect, constitutional and unconstitutional, to restrain and impede the popular movement, to break its strength or sap its unity. Against all such attempts popular vigilance and mass action will be essential.

The working class and popular movement will need to be ready to use its organised strength to prevent or defeat attempts at violence against it, its organisations or representatives, or other illegal actions by reactionary forces at home or by agents of their foreign allies.

There will be particular dangers of such resort to force at crucial stages of the struggle, for instance when a general election is likely to result in a socialist majority, or even more when a socialist government has been returned and is taking essential measures to break the economic and political powers of the monopolies.

The extent to which the popular movement—above all its working class core—is informed and vigilant, the extent to which it is geared to bring all its formidable strength into play in support of socialist policies, will be the decisive factor. This strength will determine whether the democratic verdict is accepted or whether, in defence of their interests, the capitalists resist by force.

We believe that this is a perspective that can be achieved, that the working class and popular movement can, at a time of mounting class struggle, be brought to the vital challenging stage where a general election, fought on the issue of socialist change, can bring decisive results. This country has a potentially most powerful labour movement, a movement with a high degree of organisation embodying long experience and a strong democratic tradition. There are growing numbers in the professions and elsewhere who, once working class unity is established and a popular movement is in train, will be ready to join their efforts to ensure a fundamental reorientation of the economy and to assist in developing socialism. In these circumstances a socialist Labour and Communist majority can be returned to Parliament, and a socialist government established which, with the backing of the people organised in their powerful mass organisations, will begin to carry through the change to socialism.

The new balance of forces in the world favours this view. Many countries, comprising more than a third of the population of the world, have already taken the socialist road and will not be deflected from it. Former colonial and dependent peoples are now developing nations embarking on the road to full independence, economic as well as political. Such countries now have powerful allies, and do not need to face singlehanded a hostile capitalist encirclement. It is this combination of external conditions, with internal changes arising from the increasing contradictions of monopoly capitalism and the increasing strength of the political movement of the people, that makes the peaceful transition to socialism possible in a number of countries.

Main tasks of a socialist government

It will be the primary task of the socialist government to deprive monopoly capitalism of economic and political power, ensure that

political control remains in the hands of the freely elected representatives of the people, build up a state representative of and loyal to the working people and initiate measures to reconstruct the economy on socialist lines. This entails:

The socialist nationalisation of all monopolies and other large-scale concerns in productive industry and distribution, the banks and insurance companies and control of foreign trade and overseas relations.

The initiation of socialist planning, to cover the economy as a whole, to the end of improving the working and living conditions of the people in consultation with popular organisations in all the relevant fields.

The consolidation of political power by ensuring that those in commanding positions in the armed forces and police, the civil service and diplomatic service are loyal to the socialist government; and the practical extension of democratic control—over the press and broadcasting, in the conduct of elections and in the administration of the law. There will be no place in Parliament for non-elected members and the House of Commons will become the sole legislative body.

The House of Lords and the Monarchy will have no place in a socialist Britain.

The establishment of new relations abroad with developing nations, with the socialist countries, with other capitalist countries, based on the recognition of equal sovereign rights, friendship and peace.

The determined application of these principles, the carrying out of these policies, will break the hold of capitalism over the industry and wealth of the country, and will radically undermine its hold on the minds of the people. For the first time British democracy will really be democracy for the people.

The aim will be to carry out these changes peacefully, as part of a programme planned to promote the welfare and assure the future of the British people. Only against illegal opposition would the force of the law be invoked, only in the case of violence against the socialist government would forceful measures be taken by the state and the people.

Democratically organised political parties, including those hostile to socialism, will have the right to maintain their organisation, publications and propaganda, and to contest elections. With proportional representation the electors will operate their choice fully in contrast with the present unrepresentative, and in effect, two-party system.

Elections will give the people the opportunity to discuss and modify policy and to decide what government they want. A socialist government which bases its policies on popular interests and aspirations, consults and informs the people at every stage, can be confident of retaining the popular support won for its programme. Such a government will see its task both to lead and accept the guidance of the people.

Socialist democracy

A socialist Parliament will be a new type of Parliament, since now control over the country's affairs will be administered by the people through their elected representatives.

The socialist majority, now truly representative, will be directly answerable to those who elected them, will consult with them, and encourage their activities.

The House of Commons, under socialism, will be a real national forum as well as decision making body—debating statements of policy as well as voting upon Bills, drawing on the views of all relevant public organisations in discussing particular issues. It will have standing committees to enable individual members to learn about and influence administrative policies, so that these are constantly brought under public scrutiny.

In the process of their common efforts to build socialism the Scottish and Welsh peoples will work out the forms of democratisation of their own Parliaments, and the peoples of Britain will together work out the best forms of association to promote their national and democratic interests.

A socialist government requires a socialist state machine. Without this the political power of the people, expressed in the democratic decision of the electoral majority, will not be effective nor can socialism be built.

The leading positions in the ministries and departments, the armed forces and police, the nationalised industries and other authorities, must, therefore, be filled by men and women loyal to socialism, and with experience of the problems and way of life of the people. This will ensure not only that expert knowledge is made available to further the development of essential industries and services, but also that the socialist policies, determined on by Parliament, are fully implemented. It will be the aim to make the socialist state machinery the servant of the people and their needs.

Great responsibilities will devolve on the trade unions. Independent of the state and retaining all their rights, they will not only negotiate on all questions affecting members, but will have a leading part to play in economic planning, in promoting scientific and technological change and in ensuring that the workers and the people as a whole benefit from it.

Co-operation as a form of public ownership will also have an important part in a socialist society, with all facilities necessary to make its full contribution in distribution, production and all democratic activity.

Industrial democracy will be one of the main objectives, made possible of attainment by socialist ownership of the main industries. Autocratic managerial control will give place to democratic management, calling on the workers for participation in the planning of the industry, the factory, organisation and practice at workshop level. It will be obligatory on management, in co-operation with local authorities, to provide training and retraining so that all workers can

add to or change their skills and increase their scientific and general knowledge.

Civil liberties, won through the centuries, will be consolidated and extended. *Habeas Corpus*, which protects citizens from arbitrary detention, the right to be tried by jury and the right to strike, will be preserved. The strengthening of legal rights, together with the ending of all privilege, will guarantee the right of all to enjoy freedom to think, work, travel, speak, dissent, act and believe, subject only to those limitations necessarily required in any ordered and just society to protect citizens from interference and exploitation by others, and to safeguard the state.

Freedom of religious worship will be ensured, and all religions or beliefs and creeds respected, and the church separated from the state.

There will be legal prohibition of incitement to race hatred, and all forms of discrimination based on sex, race, creed or religion. These basic rights and freedoms will be embodied in a code of citizens' rights backed by the full force of the law. There will be constant public education, particularly in the schools to combat racist outlook in any form.

The judiciary will be independent of the executive and will no longer be drawn, as at present, from a small privileged section of the community. Magistrates will be drawn from nominations by the trade unions, co-operatives and other representative organisations.

Arbitrary acts of officials will be subject to appeal to a democratically elected and locally based organisation.

A free legal and advice system will provide the necessary service for those who require it.

The right to sit on a jury will be extended by the removal of all property qualifications.

Corporal punishment and the death penalty will be abolished.

The expression of views and the transmission of news, without distortion for commercial ends, will be ensured by reorganisation of the press and other mass media, and by the dissolution of the press monopolies.

Newspapers and periodicals will be owned and controlled by political parties and social groups, trade unions, co-operatives and professional associations, organisations for women, youth, or those covering particular fields of literature, art, sport.

Publicly owned regional and local radio and television stations will be encouraged to give widespread coverage to events and opinions, extending to all social, religious and democratic political groups. Creative artistic activity, experiment and innovation will be encouraged and there will be no administrative interference with them. Facilities for exhibition and performance will be made available; scientific enquiry covering the natural and social sciences will be fully supported and the free confrontation of ideas encouraged.

Such measures, involving use of the educational potentialities of the mass media to the full, will genuinely place them at the service of the people as a whole and can be a major stimulus to democracy, to the development of critical and creative powers.

The Communist Party and the Labour Party, in which the right

wing has been defeated, will be the political organisations of the working class, primarily responsible for the success of the building of socialism.

In working together for this end, in breaking down, step by step, the old bans and barriers, members of both parties can be drawn closer together, discuss long term aims and deep political questions—the nature of socialism, Marxism and the Marxist outlook. The Communist Party believes that, in the course of such action and joint discussion, a common approach will increasingly be found.

We do not and will not in any way seek to impose Marxist ideas on the members of the Labour Party. Acceptance of the Marxist standpoint can only come through personal conviction, as the fruit of experience, discussion, argument and study.

Only when and if the majority of Labour Party members come to accept Marxist ideas will the foundation be laid for a single united Marxist party. The formation of such a party would, in our view, greatly strengthen the British labour and progressive movement.

Socialist nationalisation and planning

The social ownership and control of all the main industries and national resources makes possible for the first time effective national planning. With social ownership and socialist planning the vast potential of modern science and technology can really be used and developed for the public benefit.

Socialist nationalisation implies no compensation, except for reasonable life annuities to individuals paid by the state, thus removing debt charges of the kind that have crippled formerly nationalised industries.

Funds to modernise and expand publicly owned industries and services come from the state budget.

Draft plans to rebuild industry on socialist lines will be produced and discussed in the House of Commons, and by the nation at large. When Parliament has decided on priorities, it will devolve on a new national planning authority to prepare plans in consultation with bodies at all levels—financial and industrial, regional and local, trade unions, co-operatives, consumer interests. These will then come before Parliament for further discussion, finalisation and enactment.

This is something quite different from nationalisation undertaken within a capitalist state, bureaucratically organised and restricted mainly to utilities, in the interests of the privately owned sector, rather than the community as a whole.

Socialist nationalisation will extend to all large-scale productive enterprises, wholesale and retail trading concerns, banks, insurance companies, transport and building societies; it will cover land owned by companies, institutions and large landowners as well as all urban land not belonging to owner-occupiers.

Nationalised industries will form the core of a planned economy guided by the socialist government and state; their boards will be composed of workers, technicians, technologists, scientists and managers with direct experience of the industry.

This is something radically different from managed capitalism or nationalisation under a capitalist state. Now the state that is doing the owning and controlling is a socialist state representative of the working people. Now the ownership and control of the country's wealth allow for decisions on a proper investment policy, which in turn defines the scope of development for different industries in relation to each other and to general needs. High growth rates can result from planned investment accompanied by the rapid application in all fields of new techniques, of automation, computerizing, nuclear power.

As a result a socialist government can plan with full confidence for an expansion of exports of capital goods and consumer goods.

It can at the same time set out steadily to improve the standard of living at home, partly through wage increases and a shorter working day, partly by devoting far more of the national product to social expenditure—on housing, education, health, pensions, social benefits, town planning.

As in industry, so on the land, socialist nationalisation can bring decisive changes, making possible for the first time the planned use of resources for homes and recreation, as well as industrial and agricultural development.

Key aims will be the production of considerably more foodstuffs of all kinds, to lessen dependence on imports, improve the national diet and contribute to overcoming the present world shortage.

All forms of co-operation developed by working farmers, including buying, marketing, use of machinery, building and cultivation will be encouraged. Some large state farms will be established as model enterprises and for purposes of scientific research. Amenities in the countryside, particularly transport, health and welfare, will be improved to close the gap between urban and rural living conditions; likewise agricultural workers' wages commensurate with their skill and importance to the economy will be guaranteed, and adequate non-tied housing near their jobs.

In the supply and distribution of consumer goods the co-operative movement will make a key contribution to the national plan. There will be room to extend co-operative forms of organisation—particularly in handicrafts, fishing and farming—and to develop the co-operative production of consumer goods.

The nationalising of large-scale industries and trades, the planning of their production and of public services, will assist small owners who have hitherto been progressively squeezed out by the monopolies. They will benefit, too, by the increased purchasing power of the people. Working farmers, craftsmen, small retailers and shopkeepers, will continue to provide essential services.

The dangers of over-centralisation of planning can be avoided by wide consultation, not only in the preparation of plans but also in carrying them out; by drawing in workers at all levels of industry; by according regional and local responsibility for enterprises wherever possible; by paying close attention to consumer demand, and providing for its expression by encouragement of public criticism and advice.

Under socialism, financial policy is a means of ensuring proper use of the country's resources. It operates to allocate labour, plant, materials, land, to produce in a planned way what is needed to increase productive power and improve the general standard of life.

The budget of a socialist government is, accordingly, on a quite different pattern from those of capitalist governments.

The main sources of revenue are the publicly owned enterprises. Personal taxation takes a simple form, free of the present anomalies and the present rating system; and it is the aim to keep indirect taxation down. Budget expenditure includes funds for the further expansion of industrial and agricultural production (the source of new wealth), allowing for a systematic expansion of social services and benefits.

Large resources will become available with cancellation of the national debt, providing compensation to small investors. Drastic cuts in expenditure on armaments and the ending of overseas bases will release enormous funds hitherto put to an unproductive use.

Foreign policy

A socialist government is not interested in acquiring territory beyond its own boundaries, or in profiting from investments in underdeveloped countries. It will, therefore, pursue a genuine policy of peace, play a consistent role in strengthening the peace forces throughout the world, work to prevent imperialist aggression and show solidarity with all states and peoples fighting against imperialism.

It will take a firm stand against colonialism in every form, and for the right of all peoples to self-determination and full independence.

It will pursue an independent foreign policy the key features of which are:

Whilst maintaining the forces necessary to defend Britain from aggression, to renounce nuclear weapons and other weapons of mass destruction, and work for a disarmament treaty covering both nuclear and "conventional" weapons.

To withdraw troops from the territories of all other countries and end commitments to NATO and similar military alliances.

To end all imperialist relations with former colonies and seek close, voluntary, friendly relations for mutual benefit with both these and existing Commonwealth countries. This involves handing over property confiscated from the monopolies, the dismantling of the neo-colonialist structure which covered continued exploitation, the offer of aid to develop economies, from scientific and technical know-how to trade agreements. To accord the right to self-determination to the peoples of remaining colonies or dependencies of Britain.

To oppose imperialism, racialism, militarism, and stand firmly opposed to all fascist or reactionary dictatorships.

To enhance the status and authority of the United Nations, as an all-inclusive international body, in which all nations, large and small, are accorded their rightful place.

To co-operate closely with other socialist countries recognising that such co-operation will be of great mutual benefit, and strengthen the world forces of peace, national liberation and socialism.

Regional government, town planning and housing

A socialist government, seeking to extend democracy, will decentralise the machinery of government and of planning. Democratically elected regional councils can plan for economic and social development throughout the region. Town and country planning can be effectively undertaken as a result of nationalisation of the land, without the burden of compensation and with the exclusion of speculative building.

The destruction and decay of natural environment, heritage of capitalism, will step by step be overcome by large scale urban and land renewal. Special attention and facilities will be given to areas which, under capitalism, were depressed and allowed to deteriorate. It will be the aim of planning to bring about a better distribution of population, and to create balanced opportunities of employment and equal distribution of educational and cultural facilities and amenities.

The main directions of a socialist policy will be:

To vest more powers in regional and local councils, with commensurate resources, so that they can encourage necessary economic and social developments without putting a heavy burden on residents.

To develop new and existing towns, within the framework of national and regional planning, with access to extended green belts and protected countryside.

To dovetail the development of transport in with regional and local plans, providing urban motorways where needed and encouraging cheap or free public transport services, making full use of the most modern forms of vehicles and power.

Housing is already a responsibility of local authorities. Once there is a release from the burden of interest charges, inflated land prices, monopolies in the building and building materials industries, it will become possible to provide each family with a separate house or flat at a low rent or purchase price.

The main ends of socialist policy will be:

To plan and build new communities, with homes fully equipped and other amenities provided and integrated—jobs, transport, shops, schools, welfare services, cultural facilities, open spaces.

To clear all slums and other substandard housing.

To give all tenants security of tenure; to end private landlordism, permitting local authorities to take over privately rented dwellings.

To encourage the formation of housing associations for co-operative ownership and owner-occupiers, and assist with loans at low interest rates, cheap sites, reduced legal charges and control of the costs of repairs.

Health and social security

To a socialist society people matter and a new high priority is given to services for health and welfare. They are allocated the proportion of the national income necessary to promote expansion, and the allocation increases as socialism becomes more firmly established.

Services will be free, and available to all with no means test. The bureaucracy and inhumanity associated with the dole, which still clings to some of our public services, will be eliminated. A community run by the people for the people will accord as of right care to its children and aged, to those in need or distress.

Good health is not limited to curing disease, but should mainly be achieved by preventive measures. It requires good housing and earnings, security in and enjoyment of work, longer holidays and the facilities to make them restful and enjoyable, the elimination of air pollution, the control of industrial processes to eliminate the danger of disease.

A socialist health service will place particular emphasis on preventive medicine, on enabling people to enjoy good health and avoid physical or mental illness. But it will also provide, without payment or discrimination, and with humanised service to the patient, facilities for every kind of treatment from those for everyday ills to the most modern methods of curbing serious diseases. Good health requires effective pre-natal and maternity services.

It will be a main aim to provide adequate resources for medical research, which has hitherto been starved, and ensure that it covers the different fields effectively.

It will also be the aim to integrate health services more closely and fill gaps, to promote local health centres served by doctors, specialists and other qualified staff; to improve the entire school health services; to provide adequately for young people in hospital; to institute new and constructive forms of care for the aged infirm and for the physically and mentally handicapped.

To humanise the hospitals and bring them more closely in touch with local needs, regional hospital boards will be reconstituted on a representative basis, and local hospital committees with professional, trade union and lay representatives will have extended scope.

It is especially important to humanise the treatment of the mentally ill, and this will require great improvements in accommodation, in training and conditions of staff, and close supervision of their living conditions by outside bodies.

The health services depend, above all, on the recruitment of health workers of all grades, from the specialist to the orderly. In a planned socialist society, wages and conditions of work in this vital field—in which so many women are engaged—will be commensurate with the responsibilities and the value placed on this work.

Social security depends on narrowing the gap between earnings and the payments accorded to the sick, disabled, temporarily unemployed, or retired. This will be the policy of a socialist government, to be implemented progressively as social wealth increases.

All working people will qualify for pensions and other services sufficient to support them in retirement. Those who have retired after a lifetime's service to the community will be treated as honoured citizens. But opportunities to engage gainfully in new occupations will be provided without loss of pension, as well as the special kinds of housing and welfare services needed.

Pensions and other benefits will not depend on deductions from wages and salaries, but the cost will be met out of the total social product. Family allowances will be sufficient to maintain each child during childhood and during the years spent in education. In these ways the poverty line will be eliminated and families now below it enabled to take a full part in community life.

Education, the arts and research

Socialist society can only develop through a system of full education for all. Such education will open up opportunities for young and old, provide the specialists and experts, the trained and skilled in all fields, who can make the most of the country's resources, add to them, and explore new prospects.

The proportion of the national income accorded to education, the scope given for the development of facilities of all kinds, is the measure of a community's belief in itself and its future. A socialist government accords first priority to educational expenditure.

New discoveries, applied in a planned way, will revolutionise work in most spheres and make possible the cutting back of working hours. What society needs today, at a time of such rapid technological change and scientific advance, is men and women who combine sound and broadly based knowledge with imagination, resourcefulness, flexibility of mind. This calls for an end to narrow over-specialisation in school and university, for the provision of new courses of study covering a wide field but geared to discovery, innovation, creative work. But it also calls for new kinds of education to increase the skills, widen the interests of and promote enjoyment for those of all ages, and to foster a critical and forward-looking spirit.

It will be one of the main aims of a socialist government to provide educational services of this kind, not only through schools and colleges, but through radio, television, the press, publishing houses; through the cinema, concerts, theatre, opera and ballet; through libraries, museums and art galleries; through sporting activities of all kinds; through public discussion, debates, lectures, scientific demonstrations. This will be the main way of ensuring that the people as a whole participate in and contribute to advances in knowledge, enjoyment of the arts, the extension of human achievement. It will be the best guarantee that the most is made of the abilities of all.

The foundation for an education which continues throughout life is laid in the schools and the home. Qualified workers from day nurseries and child welfare clinics will be available to help parents. Nursery education will be provided up to school entry age. The schools of a socialist society will all be genuinely public schools,

maintained by and open to all the community from the nursery to university age. There will be no private fee-paying schools. The schools will provide programmes planned to stimulate mental and physical development, to ensure that the new generation is able to undertake tasks of a kind that, in this age of revolutionary discovery, we cannot yet know. Provision will be made for children's leisure activities. Special services for the physically and mentally handicapped will be extended. There will be full secondary education for all. Full maintenance will be provided for those who continue their full-time studies.

Colleges and universities will be planned to provide for increasing numbers, and will be geared to the needs of a planned society—in the interests of both individuals and the community. All will be encouraged to combine teaching with research, so that students are brought to the frontiers of present knowledge and see it as their task to extend them.

Besides sandwich courses for those entering industry, and courses to add to skills in particular fields, there will be ways back into full-time courses for workers in all spheres. At a time when techniques change so rapidly, when knowledge is advancing on so many fronts, this is essential to ensure that industries, the arts, social services, are manned by those acquainted with and able to apply new discoveries and methods.

Encouragement and financial assistance will be given to popular organisations of all kinds promoting drama, music, literature, the visual arts, the cultivation of particular fields of study or activity. It will be the aim to provide facilities for these, rather than to promote them directly, so that they remain under the control and administration of those concerned. The same applies in the case of youth organisations which have too often been "led", too seldom provided with the room and materials they need to promote their own activities.

With such aid, extended also to the professional theatre, cinema, opera, orchestras, present divisions between the artist and his audience will be overcome. There will be a new understanding, with a new enjoyment, of all forms of artistic endeavour whether undertaken directly or in the work of others. Innovation and experiment in the arts will be encouraged.

A socialist government will extend the same principles to cover technological and scientific research. Socialist forms of organisation and participation in the factories provide great scope for invention and innovation at the bench, in the workshop, building up to the level of production promotion and laboratory research. In offices and hospitals, in work of all kinds, links can be forged to encourage and facilitate a creative approach to work—which is the foundation of all research.

Highly specialised research institutes will be encouraged to maintain links with education on the one hand, production on the other, and to keep workers in the relevant fields continuously informed of research in progress, its direction and significance.

By all these means a socialist government will help to cultivate,

draw on, direct into new fields, the infinitely various abilities of people, and ensure that they find constructive and creative outlets. This is to enrich not only the community but individual lives, to open up quite fresh opportunities, to call on people to rise to them and to value properly their contributions. It will invest life with a purpose, make it infinitely worth while.

5. The Choice is Ours

THERE are two ways open to the people of Britain today. We can continue under capitalism, state monopoly capitalism, or we can take the socialist road.

The Communist Party invites firm support for policies which will take our country along the road to socialism.

We have explained why we believe this to be essential and in the interests of the great majority of the people. We have outlined what we think should be done to open up the way, and what in our opinion socialism would mean for Britain.

We have affirmed the need to extend democracy on the political, social and industrial fronts, and our belief in the open promotion of mass understanding and mass action to win socialist policies.

We have not hidden the difficulties but have tried to show how they can be overcome. We have said that in the process of overcoming them new strength and understanding can constantly be achieved.

We have shown that in Britain today there are not only significant limitations to freedom, but growing encroachments on rights which have been won in the past. Modern monopoly capitalism, controlling the key points of British economy, the key positions of the state, of the mass media, education, dominates the peoples lives in countless ways.

As we have underlined, it is the mass struggles of the past that have won us our present democratic liberties. These the British people owe above all to the working class, to the labour movement, which fought for decades, under the most difficult conditions, to win rights which we have all since enjoyed. Now we must fight to defend and extend these rights as we move on the road to socialism, to the rule of the working people, where all that has been won must be preserved and carried further, where democracy must be extended further in every field—political, industrial, social.

We have shown that the unity of the labour movement is the heart of a broad popular alliance of the working people, the vast majority of the population. We have outlined the type of programme of struggle for peace, living standards and democracy, that can unite the working people, and begin to undermine the power of monopoly capitalism. We have shown too the urgent need to secure working class unity, end bans and proscriptions, defeat the influence of reformist ideas. We have shown the need to win the working people, in the course of struggle, for socialist ideas and socialist policies. We

have shown the key role in this task of Marxist theory and the Communist Party.

There are deep differences in our country between rich and poor, between the privileges accorded as of right to birth and wealth and the limitations of the lives of those who produce the wealth.

It is our aim to remove these limitations from the lives of the majority, to use the political freedoms which we have won and shall win to achieve social and industrial freedom, to break down this class structure. It is our aim to build a society in which all are free to live a full life, free of class distinctions and divisions which condition development along prescribed lines.

But we do not believe that this can be done for the people. It can only be done by the people. To this end we work for the widest possible mass movement in the course of which a new understanding, new relations, can be forged.

We have tried to indicate how we can end for all time the aggressive reactionary role that Britain, British imperialism, has so long played, to show that there is a fine future for Britain, with a respected place in the world, when Britain ends its colonialism, works for peace, and throws its influence and efforts on the side of those states and peoples fighting against imperialism and co-operates to the full with the socialist countries.

We have described in the broadest outline what socialism could mean for Britain, indicated the most general features of a socialist programme, which, with the aid of a socialist government, the people would struggle to fulfil. With all the difficulties that we are bound to face in building socialism it is easy to see how great an advance it would mean on our present capitalist conditions.

Socialist countries do not claim to be utopias, free of problems. They are countries in which difficulties occur and have to be overcome in the best interests of the working people. But they are countries which make full use of their material and spiritual resources, which are free of economic crises and unemployment, countries in which progress can be continuous, and where progress is directed towards the satisfaction of human needs and aspirations.

The achievements of socialism, once a distant dream, are now a reality for all to see, in many countries of the world. But we are not claiming that Britain should copy others exactly in the way it advances to socialism and establishes socialist institutions. On the contrary we have outlined a *British* road to socialism.

We have traced this road in the light of the particular history that has shaped the institutions and outlook of the British people, of the relation of class forces in Britain today, and of the international relation of class forces. These latter have now radically changed with the successes of socialism in the Soviet Union and other countries, with the advances of the national liberation movement, and of the socialist and progressive forces within the remaining capitalist world.

We reaffirm that through the unity, socialist understanding and mobilisation of the labour movement a popular alliance can be built and maintained strong enough to end the power of monopoly

capitalism and establish the rule of the working people led by the working class. Under this rule, the rule of the majority in the interests of the majority, the people can establish socialism.

We see socialist society as the first stage in the advance to a higher, communist form of society. As productive forces begin to supply an abundance of products, as the last remnants of classes vanish, as education spreads, leisure expands, work becomes skilled and a pleasure. We will move into the realm of a truly human society, where the watchword is from each according to his capacity to each according to his needs, and where, in the words of the *Communist Manifesto* "the free development of each is the condition for the free development of all".

Such is the policy and perspective of the Communist Party of Great Britain.

